Mao at Lake Success—*J. A. del Vayo*

THE Nation

December 2, 1950

Asia's New Power

BY ANDREW ROTH

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Wonder Drugs: Plus & Minus

BY LEONARD ENGEL

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Quebec: Unhealthy for Reformers

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The Changing American Character

BY IRVING HOWE

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

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The Shape of Things

ON WEDNESDAY OF LAST WEEK BRITAIN acted on its own; the British chargé d'affaires in Peking delivered a note to Foreign Minister Chou En-lai assuring him that the U. N. forces in Korea had no designs on China or Chinese interests. On Thursday rumors of peace filled the air waves; Americans recovering from Thanksgiving dinners were told by their favorite commentators that the Korean fighting might be over before night. The Chinese not only had not attacked; they had allowed American prisoners to return to the U. N. lines bringing messages that the invaders "did not want to fight Americans." By Thursday night (Friday on the Yalu River) a new story came out of the loudspeaker. General MacArthur, flying to the North Korean front, had personally launched a new drive to the north. A radio reporter talking from Tokyo explained that the offensive was "necessary" because the U. N. forces "had lost contact with the enemy." On Friday morning the Chinese Communist delegation arrived in New York to press Peking's charge of American aggression on Formosa before the Security Council. Various delegations were already trying to use the occasion to persuade the Chinese that nobody wants or intends to fight Communist China. The MacArthur offensive seemed deliberately designed to make futile any attempts at ending the war by negotiation.

*

WAS IT SO DESIGNED? WASHINGTON SAYS no, pointing out that preparations for the assault had been in the making ever since the U. N. forces had stabilized and reinforced their line following the first successful Chinese attack. When the preparations were complete, the offensive got moving. But whether or not the timing was deliberate, its effect was plain enough. The New York *Times* reported Monday that the United States had "appealed to Britain not to press any conversations with the Chinese Communists too far" until the results of the drive became clearer. In any case MacArthur's action offered new evidence of what even our allies and supporters in the U. N. are coming to believe: that the U. N. commander is a law unto himself, that he does not even bother to consult Washington before he acts, that he either makes American foreign policy or ignores it. The idea of starting an all-out offensive against an enemy that had avoided "contact" for weeks offended other than diplomatic sensibilities, suggesting callous indifference to wholesale slaughter at a moment when peace seemed within reach. In any case, as the week began, anti-MacArthur feeling was mounting. Delegates at Lake Success recalled the General's explicit assurance to President Truman that the Chinese would never attack if the U. N. forces crossed the Thirty-eighth Parallel; they discussed his open connivance in Syngman Rhee's assumption of power in North Korea; they repeated the story that he had been stopped from bombing Manchurian bases only by explicit orders from the Joint Chiefs of Staff. In short, the new U. N. offensive, successful or otherwise, is not popular in the U. N. itself; it may turn out that General MacArthur has helped Communist China at Lake Success by the very act of assailing it in North Korea.

*

THE THANKSGIVING EVE TRAGEDY WHICH cost the lives of 77 passengers on the Long Island Railroad and injured more than 300 others has raised a cry for public ownership even in quarters where "statism" is generally abhorred. This is the classic pattern: wait until private greed, sloth, irresponsibility have made an intolerable mess of an enterprise and then, on the heels of catastrophe, expect a public authority to take it over and perform a miracle of salvation and conversion. There is nothing new about the rank incompetence of the Long Island or the complete indifference of its corporate parent, the Pennsylvania Railroad. Enjoying a monopoly of the transit facilities of a thickly populated area—not even a through bus line serves the 120-mile-long island—the Long Island has for years operated a public nuisance, displaying an arrogant disregard for the comfort, convenience, and safety of its patrons. Its relations with the Public Service Commission have been confined almost entirely to insolent demands for higher fares, which that politically ticketed body has always seen fit to grant. And in many counties of the Island the most influential citizens have seen in the dangerously rickety rail service only a happy device for discouraging the flow of new residents from the city. The price of cumulative carelessness is being paid this year. In 1949 34 passengers were killed on all American railroads combined. So far in 1950 the Long Island alone has taken 109 lives. Yet even after the Rockville Center wreck last February, Governor

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Dewey scoffed at requests for a public authority, remarking that "our experience in socialism on the city subways and buses is not any better than the British experiment." Now he calls for "drastic action" even to the point of taking over the road if necessary. No one will dispute him. The scandal is that it has taken the mass destruction of human lives and the boiling indignation of the affected area to jolt the Governor, the commission, and the county officials out of their torpid negligence.

✶

ONCE AGAIN AN EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT IS seeking to divert popular attention from domestic scandals and economic distress by denouncing Britain's occupation of the Suez Canal Zone and the maintenance of the de facto British protectorate over the Sudan. On paper it has a strong case. The presence of a foreign garrison certainly detracts from Egyptian sovereignty: control of the Sudan and the upper reaches of the Nile by an alien authority offers, theoretically at least, a standing threat to the water supply by which the country lives. Yet nowadays Egyptian efforts to cast off the British imperialist yoke do not inspire a sympathetic response from Western liberals. The despicable role of Egypt in the Arab aggression against Israel is too fresh in the memory. Moreover, the miserable performance of its corruption-ridden army in that campaign showed plainly that it could not be trusted to protect the Canal Zone, which is vital to the defense of the whole Middle East. Thus there were no dissenting voices in the House of Commons on November 20 when Ernest Bevin announced that the British government proposed to stand by the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian treaty, which cannot be abrogated or revised except by mutual consent. On the other hand, the Foreign Secretary was so sharply criticized when he said that deliveries of arms to Egypt would continue that two days later he reversed this decision so far as tanks were concerned. In view of this new firmness in London, it is doubtful how far the Egyptian government will press its protest, particularly since anti-British demonstrators in Cairo seem inclined to turn to domestic grievances.

✶

SINCE THE DISPUTED TREATY EXPIRES IN 1956, the days of the British watch on the Canal are, in any case, numbered, and the problem of providing permanently for the strategic security of the Middle East remains to be solved. The growth of a politically and economically stable Israel will provide one anchor, as the British Foreign Office is at last beginning to realize. But if the dangers of Soviet infiltration are to be dispelled, drastic reform in the backward Arab countries is essential. There government corruption and inefficiency are a barrier to any kind of economic progress; there the bitter contrast between the abject poverty of the masses and the

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immense wealth of a handful of landlords and capitalists provides a perfect seed-bed for communism. Thus it is not enough for Britain, with American backing, to maintain its military position in the Middle East: these powers must use their influence to end the feudalism that has lingered there too long.

*

LAST WEEK *THE NATION* WAS FIRST TO report Señor Indalecio Prieto's violent reaction to the United Nations decision in favor of Dictator Franco. One week later the New York *Times* printed an A. P. dispatch from Havana telling of Prieto's resignation as chairman of the Spanish Socialist Party and his retirement from the fight for Spain's liberation. But it left out the explanation of his action—and the explanation is the real story. On his arrival in Cuba the former Republican Defense Minister gave an interview to the press in which he confirmed the information received by *The Nation* from France, declaring bluntly: "My failure has been total. I am responsible for having led my party to put its faith in governments which, pretending to be democratic, seemed worthy of our confidence. They have now proved that they did not deserve it." Señor Prieto places upon the Western powers entire responsibility for what may happen in Spain the day Franco disappears. Previous to the meeting of the General Assembly he had insisted that if the United Nations would only maintain the resolution of 1946 and if the American government would refuse Franco a loan, Spain's increasing internal difficulties would in the end bring about the peaceful creation of a middle-of-the-road government. Señor Prieto now abandons that position and withdraws—a decision whose meaning will not, we hope, be missed by the State Department. This is the story the *Times* omitted.

*

AN OLD AND SALUTARY LATIN AMERICAN tradition of providing asylum for political refugees—a tradition that has tended to reduce the excesses that often accompany revolutionary changes of government—may be destroyed by a ruling of the Court of International Justice. The court had been asked to decide whether Victor Haya de la Torre, the Peruvian Aprista leader who found refuge nearly two years ago in the Colombian embassy at Lima, should be surrendered to the Peruvian government or given a safe-conduct to leave the country. In a contradictory series of findings the judges both rejected Colombia's right to decide whether Haya de la Torre was a political offender and denied Peru's contention that he was a common criminal. At the same time they declared that Peru was not bound to accord him a safe-conduct and that Colombia had contravened various treaties by giving him protection. Understandably enough Colombia is asking for a clarification of this judgment. As Dr. Eduardo Zuleta Angel, Colombian ambassador in Washington, says, the court "cannot persist in eluding its responsibility" for a clear-cut decision on Haya de la Torre's status. A settlement of the dispute between the two countries is, indeed, important, but it is still more important that the court should reconsider the implications of its dictum that the right of asylum was an institution that owed its development in Latin America to extra-legal considerations and had no standing in international law. For law has been defined as frozen custom, and this particular custom, born of and nurtured by the unstable politics of Latin America, has hitherto proved acceptable to nearly all factions in all countries. Its abrogation is unlikely to lead to a modification of political violence; more probably it will intensify it.

The Power of Words

IT IS easy to put down O. John Rogge as a quixotic busybody, a fuzzy-minded liberal so out of touch with reality that he believes the ills of the world to be merely the result of unfortunate misunderstanding. Yet the curious crusade in which this odd man is presently engaged does more, perhaps, to expose the basic nature of the Communist mentality than most of the works of earnest ex-Communists. Reading Orwell's "1984," we allow for the exaggeration of a literary polemic. But following the recent career of Mr. Rogge we see, as naked fact, the blind rejection of reason that marks the Communist approach to international collaboration.

In his unique position as the lone independent in various Communist-operated congresses, committees, and delegations, the former Assistant Attorney General of the United States has been speaking his mind without regard for "line" or propaganda effect. What he has had to say is not in itself remarkable for anything but personal courage. In the heart of the Kremlin it-

[For answer see page 501]

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self he pleaded with an assembly of Soviet delegates for the toleration of conflicting opinion, quoting words of Jefferson that must have sounded like the rankest expression of a decadent bourgeois liberalism. Subsequently he berated the World Peace Congress, in which he functions, for the subservience to the Cominform it displayed when it expelled Yugoslavia. And last week, in the city of Warsaw, he went much farther. It was the Cominform, not the United States, he said, that had "resorted to the use of violence in Korea." Against the monotonous chant that the blood-thirsty Americans were bent on war, he remarked, "it is with the greatest difficulties that we can be persuaded to arm ourselves" but the fact that "we abhor war does not mean we will tolerate armed attacks and breaches of world peace." He refused to sign the sacred Stockholm peace appeal on the ground that the attempts of the Cominform to accomplish revolutionary changes by violence were a greater threat to peace than the atomic bomb. And, most daring of all, he told the Chinese Communist delegation that he hoped their country would follow the lead of Yugoslavia, for which, by the way, he acts as American legal representative.

No doubt his colleagues in the Congress, particularly those from Western countries, had heard such things before, but never in their own councils. Responsible officials were quick to apply the customary vituperation, and the Moscow radio followed up with a denunciation of the "money-seeker with a divided soul." But Rogge had done something that could not be erased by either the boos and catcalls of his fellow-delegates or the thunders out of Moscow. He had snapped a hypnotic trance. The chief technique of Communist propaganda is the monotonous reiteration of a single theme, over and over again, until none of the faithful would question it any more than he would question his name or his appetite. In Warsaw Rogge spoiled the effect. Dazed but not quite mesmerized, a few of the delegates responded, though weakly. A German, while rejecting the speaker's thesis, publicly admired his courage. French, Danish, British, and Irish delegates are reported to have approached him sympathetically after the meeting.

Mr. Rogge has probably worn out his welcome in Eastern Europe, and the effect of his "provocative" behavior, as the Russians correctly described it, may be short-lived. But he has demonstrated that moral courage still has its uses and that the power of the word is not wholly dissipated, even in a murky world of unreason. He has shown why the Russian rulers regard with suspicion even their own followers who have had contact with the West. And he has reinforced the belief that for winning the soul of Europe the atomic bomb is a sorry weapon compared with a really convincing Voice of America.

Britain Wants Peace

November 24

OUR London correspondent writes: Britain shows increasing signs of wanting to get off the toboggan slide to war. In the headlines is Health Minister Aneurin Bevan's denial of a report circulated by American newsmen of a Cabinet split, with the left-wing, led by Bevan, seeking to slow down rearmament and rely less on American aid. At an off-the-record luncheon Bevan had apparently indicated his own belief that Britain's contemplated arms burden is beyond its capacity and that the Republican Party's increased mortgage on American foreign policy makes it difficult to keep Britain and America in step. It is fairly certain, however, that ambitious Nye Bevan will not precipitate a showdown until he is sure that the ground swell of party opinion against war has real force.

The most telling evidence of mounting uneasiness within the Labor Party came on November 21, when forty-one Labor M. P.'s presented motions calling on the government to press for an early settlement of differences between East and West. The signatories were not as well known as the twenty-two Labor back-benchers—led by National Executive members Tom Driberg and Ian Mikardo—who had offered similar motions the week before, but they were much more significant, for the new group was composed almost entirely of trade unionists who had never before been associated with a foreign-policy revolt. They are men who in the past have supported Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin with the utmost loyalty. That they should have reacted in such a fashion to the Prague four-power conference proposal may mean that the cost of war preparations has really begun to pinch.

These motions of protest by sixty-three Labor M. P.'s show that almost a quarter of the Labor representation is tired of Mr. Bevin's negativism in rebuffing Soviet peace maneuvers without launching any independent peace initiative—a move which many Labor M. P.'s want Britain to make. The submission of these motions does not necessarily mean that they will be discussed in Parliament. And if they are discussed, most signatories will probably be satisfied with reassuring words from Bevin. If motions criticizing Mr. Bevin's foreign policy are brought to a vote, there is little chance of a government defeat for Mr. Churchill will presumably come to the rescue of Mr. Bevin. It is not sure, however, that the entire Conservative Party will vote with Mr. Churchill, since some of them see a great danger in being labeled the war party. Lord Salisbury, leader of this group, argued against flat rejection by the West of the Soviet proposal, "however dis-

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appointed and disillusioned [it] might be about . . . the past," and insisted that another effort be made, at the highest level, to reach some settlement with the Russians.

Whatever happens to these immediate manifestations of dissatisfaction, they are likely to grow, unless, of course, the country is united by a new Communist military offensive or unless Britain finds a way to rearm without bearing the cost.

Mao at Lake Success

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

Lake Success, November 25

EVEN before its arrival, a sense of the presence of the Peking delegation pervaded the United Nations. The debate in the First Committe this week clearly revealed the desire of the majority of speakers to avoid any decision which would render meaningless the intervention of Mao's delegates at Lake Success. The effort of Chiang Kai-shek's representative, Dr. Tsiang, to aggravate the situation by reviving the question of Russia's responsibility for developments in Asia was an act of desperation. Time and again, in the General Assembly and the Security Council, Dr. Tsiang has tried to prevent the appearance of Communist China; his failure is in itself, regardless of what the Peking delegation achieves, a diplomatic victory for Mao and a blow to the evaporating pseudo-regime in Formosa. Aware now that his days as the voice of China in the United Nations are numbered, Dr. Tsiang abandoned the frontal attack and assailed the Russian flank, only to suffer another defeat.

This time the forensic skill of John Foster Dulles did not help him. The United States remained practically alone in supporting Nationalist China's attempt further to complicate the Korean issue. Many delegations which usually back the United States felt themselves forced to dissent. Throughout the debate in the First Committee it was evident that the majority of the delegates were far more concerned with what General Wu Hsiu-chuan would have to say in the Security Council than with the repetitious charges of Dr. Tsiang. A desire to achieve peace in Asia rather than to encourage the arming of Chiang Kai-shek for the reconquest of a country he has lost all chance of ruling was the prevailing sentiment this week at Lake Success.

It was no surprise that Great Britain, France, and Israel, in addition to India, opposed Mr. Dulles's futile attempt to force Dr. Tsiang's resolution through. The British representative, Kenneth Younger, second in command to Foreign Secretary Bevin, delivered an impressively unequivocal statement, reflecting the urgent demand in England for a new effort to turn off the road leading toward a third world war. This demand has passed beyond the limited circle of the left-wing Laborites and even of the Labor government itself, and has been voiced in an important speech in the House of Lords by the Tory leader, Lord Salisbury. But what struck the other delegates most forcibly was that Canada and Australia, which in the past have ordinarily voted with the United States on Asia, were not joining the opposition.

Speaking for Canada, R. G. Riddell pointed out that the duty of the United Nations is to give as much help as possible in resolving the "complicated pattern" which has emerged in the Far East. The Canadian delegate does not believe that the United Nations would be in a stronger position to perform these functions were it to agree to the formal inquiry proposed by Dr. Tsiang "into events which are already fully on the record and which it cannot now possibly influence."

At one point the situation became very uncomfortable not only for Dr. Tsiang but for Mr. Dulles himself, both of whom were left entirely isolated for the first time. The shrewd delegate of Syria, Faris El-Khoury Bey, who has become a specialist in arranging the honorable interment of troublesome questions, offered a way out in the form of a proposal to charge the Interim Committee, the "Little Assembly," with the study of this item for another year. (At the time of its creation, the Russians contended that the Interim Committee was not a violation of the Charter but was devoid of sense. The first may be true, but the second is not, for it has proved useful as a kind of Escorial for more or less royal burials.) The Syrian proposal was finally adopted, amid general indifference. Assuming war has not engulfed the world, Dr. Tsiang will not be present next year to renew his charges.

This revolt of the so-called American majority was not the only one of the week. In the General Assembly's Social, Humanitarian, and Cultural Commission the United States ran into a wall of opposition from the smaller states in its effort to shelve the incomplete but controversial United Nations treaty on freedom of information. Led by France, delegates from the Middle East joined Latin Americans in defense of the treaty, which they were convinced offers protection for smaller nations against abuse by the powerful press media of wealthy countries. Mrs. Roosevelt reiterated the American point of view that the treaty, after two years' labor, is now weighed down by so many restrictions that it threatens to curb information rights, not to protect them. But not even her persuasion succeeded in putting down this most telling revolt. By secret ballot all the delegations which had taken a leading part in the debate—Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, India, Lebanon, Mexico, the Netherlands, Pakistan, and a few others—were elected to the treaty-drafting body, in addition to the Big Four. This was a major

Answer to Who's Who?—Lincoln, Marx

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victory for the smaller nations. A global conference will be called before February, 1952, if it should be thought that such a session might produce a workable pact.

But though significant, all that happened this week must be seen in relation to what lies ahead. The coming week will be the big session of the Assembly. As a French paper pointed out, the crossing of the Atlantic by the delegation from Communist China transcends in importance the crossing of the Yalu River. Speculation on what the delegates are after may be had to suit every taste, but it is certain that, as I said last week, they will tell the United Nations: If you want peace in Korea and in China, let us have an agreement, not a new offensive.

Wonder Drugs: Plus and Minus

BY LEONARD ENGEL

SINCE November 1 a person with a prescription has been able to obtain the two hormones known as cortisone and ACTH in the drugstore. The price—$35 a gram for cortisone and $50 for ACTH—is high, but it is a small fraction of what it was ten months ago, when sale of these substances to the main medical-research centers began. Scarcely two years ago cortisone, which is made by the most difficult chemical manufacturing process ever attempted, was so scarce that the Mayo Clinic had to break off its trial use in rheumatoid arthritis after only a few weeks of tests on fourteen patients. ACTH was even scarcer: the world supply consisted of a few hundred milligrams in the laboratory of C. H. Li of the University of California, the first to prepare it, and a few other laboratories.

The rapid increase in the output of cortisone and ACTH is a noteworthy achievement. A year of experience with tens of thousands of patients in some hundreds of hospitals has confirmed the extraordinary therapeutic powers of the two hormones—the results of their use are virtually indistinguishable. They are by far the most effective treatment yet discovered for rheumatoid arthritis. Several less expensive substances have received wide publicity as possible substitutes, but so far none of them have proved any more useful than traditional remedies.

Besides rheumatoid arthritis—a malignant, disabling form of arthritis not to be confused with the much less serious osteoarthritis which afflicts an estimated two million aging Americans—a score of other important diseases are being successfully treated with the two hormones. The list includes rheumatoid spondylitis (a crippling malady of the spine), Still's disease (a rheumatoid disorder of children), and the great childhood killer, rheumatic fever. It is too soon to know whether cortisone and ACTH can prevent scarring of the heart valves, the deadly after-effect of rheumatic fever, but they quickly relieve acute attacks of the disease, including the heart symptoms. They are also proving of great value in asthma, early cases of lupus erythematosus (an extremely serious chronic skin disorder), a long list of eye inflammations that often lead to blindness, and the swiftly fatal Addison's disease, which results from atrophy or destruction of the adrenal-cortex glands. And although further study is needed to evaluate their usefulness and to work out methods of treatment, encouraging results have been obtained with them in gout, ulcerative colitis, a variety of allergic disorders, the painful muscular inflammation dermatomyositis, and scleroderma (hardening of the skin). In addition, the two hormones are being used to increase the patient's chances in a major operation. A preliminary ACTH shot tells the doctor how the patient reacts to "stress." If he reacts poorly, shots of cortisone can be used to pull him through the crisis. The one disappointment to date is in leukemia and other blood cancers. Early newspaper accounts of the beneficial effects of the two hormones in leukemia were a cruel exaggeration. Any improvement as a result of their use has been purely transitory; leukemia soon becomes refractory to cortisone and ACTH and resumes its fatal course, regardless of dosage.

In acute eye inflammations a single series of cortisone or ACTH injections usually brings lasting relief, and it is perhaps not improper to say they effect a cure. In rheumatoid arthritis it is nearly always necessary to follow the initial course of injections with two or three maintenance doses a week, at least through the active stage of the disease, usually seven years, and possibly for the rest of the patient's life. Otherwise the symptoms return, sometimes in a more severe form than before treatment. In other chronic diseases, also, the two drugs effect a remission rather than a cure.

The distinction is important, medically as well as for the patient's pocket-book. Cortisone is a hormone of the adrenal cortices, the outer parts of the adrenal glands, a pair of tiny bodies that look like tricorne caps atop the kidneys. ACTH (adrenocorticotropic hormone) is one of the hormones of the pituitary gland, the "conductor of the endocrine orchestra." The specific function of ACTH

LEONARD ENGEL writes frequently for The Nation *on new scientific developments.*

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is activation of the adrenal-cortex glands, which control many aspects of the body's complex chemical economy. The cortisone and other hormones secreted by these glands regulate the concentration of sodium (salt) and potassium ion in the blood and, indirectly, the volume of the blood; play a key role in the movement of carbohydrate fuel to the muscles and in its combustion; and mobilize the body against shock through these functions and through their ability to convert proteins stored in the tissues into emergency supplies of carbohydrate. The adrenal cortices also perform important functions in connection with growth and maturation, and possibly in the development and activity of the nervous system.

HOW and why cortisone and ACTH exert their dramatic effects on so many ailments is not understood. It is clear, however, that long-continued injections of substances regulating such a variety of crucial bodily processes are bound to have consequences that are not always desirable. This is especially true in cases of rheumatoid arthritis and similar diseases, in which there is nothing wrong with the patient's pituitary-adrenal system and no hormone deficiency to be made up. The treatment in such cases increases the quantity of hormone in the system to an abnormally high level. One or more of a variety of "side effects" have occurred in a fairly large number of patients. These include rounding of the face, acne, abnormal growth of hair, purplish streaks on the abdomen, failure of wounds to heal, insomnia and mental excitement occasionally bordering on the psychotic, and some less easily observed effects, such as retention of salt and fluid in the system and a rise in blood sugar, as in diabetes. There may also be long-term changes in the pituitary and adrenal glands themselves; hormone treatment seems to depress their activity.

These assorted side effects are among the symptoms of Cushing's syndrome, a rare, once uniformly fatal chronic disease caused by overactivity of the adrenal cortex, and they are not easy to control except by halting treatment. Moreover, in some heart and circulatory disorders and in a number of other conditions the two hormones can have immediately dangerous effects and must be employed with the greatest care, if at all. For these reasons, several experts, among them Dean C. N. H. Long of the Yale Medical School, question the wisdom of the Food and Drug Administration in releasing cortisone and ACTH for general prescription sale. These experts declare that many general practitioners have neither the training nor the experience to handle such potent substances safely. Widespread abuses are also predicted, with many doctors prescribing them for all sorts of ailments where there is no reason whatever for using them except to nick the patient's pocketbook. The Food and Drug Administration, it is contended, might better have kept cortisone and ACTH on the list of experimental drugs distributed only to experienced researchers, and should at least have retained the previous requirement of hospitalization for the first course of treatment.

The position of the F. D. A. is that cortisone and ACTH are not so dangerous as all that, since their alarming side effects disappear when treatment is halted. This is largely true, though there is doubt about some effects being reversible and they are always dangerous to cardiacs. Nevertheless, in my opinion, the F. D. A. made the right decision. Limiting the distribution of cortisone and ACTH to a handful of doctors out of fear of misuse would be "conservative cruelty" to sufferers from rheumatoid arthritis and other disorders for which there is no satisfactory alternative treatment. General practitioners, furthermore, usually see patients earlier than specialists or hospital staff members, and early treatment is essential. In rheumatoid arthritis, for example, it is important to check the disease before destruction of bone and cartilage has taken place. At the moment the danger seems to be under- rather than over-use. Specialists at two large New York hospitals report that private physicians, out of fear of the side effects, often give doses too small to be fully effective.

IT SEEMS to me that a more urgent problem is the cost of the treatment, which is still high despite the reduction in the price of the drugs. It takes about four grams of cortisone—roughly $150 worth—to produce a remission of rheumatoid arthritis; if ACTH is used, the bill is about $200. Sometimes more than one course of treatment is necessary, and afterward maintenance doses costing between $7 and $15 a week are required. In addition, a visit to the doctor at least every two weeks is imperative as long as the injections continue. Most patients will also require laboratory tests, and many will need to be hospitalized for the first series of shots.

While a cheap effective substitute for the two hormones or simpler methods of manufacture may yet be found, there is little prospect of further sizable cuts in cortisone and ACTH prices in the immediate future. To keep costs down, at least one manufacturer—Merck, the maker of cortisone—is attempting to limit wholesale and retail mark-ups to half the percentage customary in the drug trade. In any event, reducing the price of the drugs will not reduce the doctor's fee or the hospital bill. Some of the costs can be met through Blue Cross, such organizations as the Health Insurance Plan of New York, or the broad Blue Shield plans in effect in Washington and Oregon. Veterans and some others will be able to obtain free care in government hospitals, and some patients will be helped by the Arthritis and Rheumatism Foundation. Cortisone and ACTH therapy, however, is beyond the reach of many who need it, and will remain outside their reach until the financing of medical care is put on a rational basis by some such means as nation-wide health insurance.

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Asia's New Power

BY ANDREW ROTH

London, November 20

THE dramatic reversal of the course of the Korean war after the U. S.–U. N. landings were made at Inchon threatened to draw the curtain on the startling facts revealed by the initial success of the North Koreans' aggression. But now the entry of Chinese Communist troops into the conflict turns the spotlight again on the striking upset in the world's balance of military power brought about by the post-war political revolutions in Asia.

The results of General MacArthur's brilliant strategy should not obscure the investment of effort required. In the first days of the campaign, when MacArthur rushed in a few thousand American troops, he reflected general Western military thinking. He hoped that the white faces and American uniforms of these half-trained G. I.'s, plus American domination of the air and sea, would be enough to roll back the invasion. But when this was actually accomplished three months later, it was only through the efforts of a very sizable counter-force. Although from the outset the U. N. forces controlled the sea and air, the initiative passed decisively into MacArthur's hands only when he had more than 150,000 combat troops ashore—100,000 Americans, 40,000 South Koreans, and 1,000 Britons. When one realizes that it took the semi-mobilization of the military power of the United States to defeat the North Koreans, the intense concern in Europe and America over the participation of Communist China is understandable.

After the West's experience with the North Koreans, it seems strange that it accepted so blithely the risk of fighting the Chinese. Before the Thirty-eighth Parallel was crossed, Chou En-lai had warned that China would not remain passive. And Pandit Nehru had cautioned through diplomatic channels that his ambassador in Peking believed the Chinese were in deadly earnest. Politics and morality apart, it was an incredible decision to risk Chinese involvement simply on General MacArthur's dogmatic estimate that the Chinese were "bluffing."

To understand the Chinese point of view it is only necessary to imagine American hysteria if a predominantly Communist force under a Russian general were approaching the Texas border after we had encouraged a North Mexican army to liquidate a South Mexican leftist regime in the belief that the fighting would remain localized. It must be recalled that not even limited efforts were made to negotiate when U. N. forces reached the Thirty-eighth Parallel, and further that there was no public proclamation of a "safety zone" around the border power plants that are vital to China's Manchurian industry. So cocksure was the U. S.–U. N. command that it did not even take adequate measures to prevent the bombardment of Chinese towns.

In appraising the effect of Asian developments on the present balance of forces in the world, several facts are of outstanding importance. The first is that the ground soldier is still the decisive element in modern warfare. The second is that the dynamic of revolutionary nationalism and the ability of Asian troops to withstand hardship and live off the country can do much to counterbalance superior Western equipment. The third is that the Russians can reap tremendous military advantages by supplying tactical instruction and a moderate amount of arms to an Asian country under the control of a Communist Party.

Six years ago, when the enemy in Asia was Japan, the Anglo-Americans had a great supply of Asian man-power at their disposal. Although China was torn by an emerging civil war, the bulk of the people were on America's side. Britain had almost two million men of the Indian army as a great pool of man-power. In Malaya, Indo-China, and Burma the most virile revolutionary nationalists were fighting with the Allies against the Japanese. Today the situation is startlingly different. Asian countries in the Anglo-American orbit are overwhelmingly neutral, while those allied with the Soviet Union are either already in battle or apparently willing to fight.

Britain's present lack of man-power resources is particularly obvious. It cannot call on the armies of India and Pakistan, despite those countries' continued military, political, and economic links with the Commonwealth, without the full indorsement of their governments. Only a few thousand Gurkhas from Nepal, a handful of primitive Sakai ex-headhunters from Borneo, and some battalions of Malay troops are available. Holland is in a similar situation. The Indonesian army under Dutch control has been completely disbanded, and the new Indonesian army will not take orders from Holland. France still commands some 60,000 Vietnamese troops but is bleeding itself white to provide French combat officers for the war in Indo-China.

The American position is not much better. While a first-rate army could be formed of Japanese units, the process of building it from scratch would take several years and the political repercussions would be tremendous. In the Korean conflict the U. N. has obtained some

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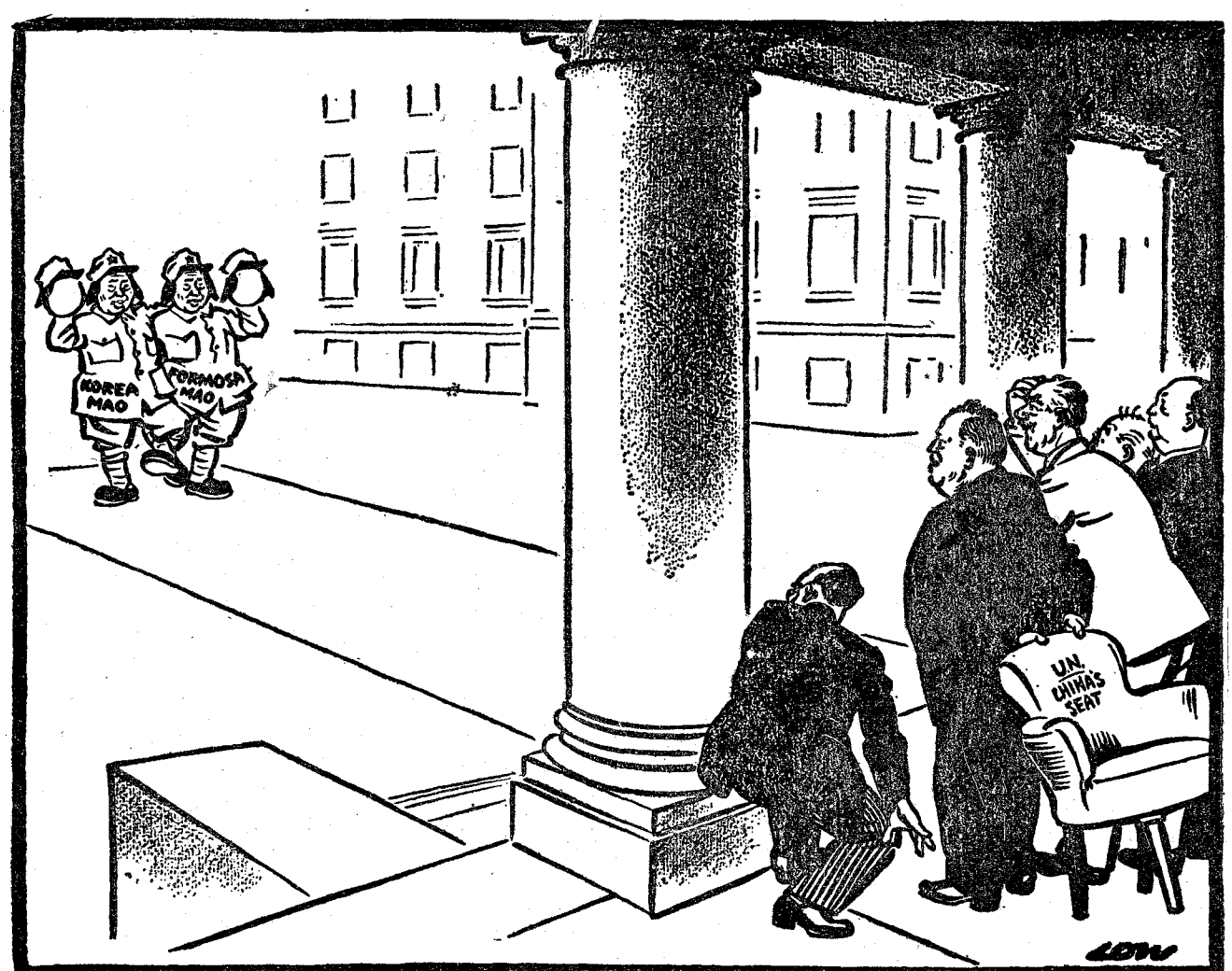
aid from Siam, Turkey, and the Philippines, but these countries are unsafe themselves and are providing troops largely to stay in the good books of the United States.

America's most numerous allies, the anti-Communist Koreans and Chinese, have been useful mainly as auxiliary troops; the corruption of the rightist Korean and Chinese army leadership has made it necessary to keep them under the supervision of the American army. If American aid had not arrived so quickly in Korea, the whole South Korean army might have dissolved. Similarly, the remnants of the Kuomintang army in Formosa are likely to fight well against the Chinese Communists only if assured of the active support of American forces.

It may be encouraging to note that fifty-three nations have indorsed the U. N. action on Korea, but a better index of the real situation is the fact that few Asian countries have yet transmuted their political words into military deeds. Neither India nor Pakistan has sent or plans to send a contingent of troops, partly because they are suspicious of each other and partly because they doubt the complete disinterestedness of the Western powers. Such a staunch anti-Communist and friend of the West as Pakistan's Prime Minister, Liaqat Ali Khan, might like to send a token force, but it would be political suicide. Indonesia has emphasized its strict neutrality, and for a time it even refused to allow U. N. vessels bound for Korea to refuel in Indonesian ports.

Thus in Asia the West must depend almost entirely upon its own resources. It has potential allies in South Asia and the Middle East amounting to more than a fourth of the world's population, but they seem determined to remain neutral. The Soviet Union, on the other hand, can count on the active military support of its Asian allies, who constitute another quarter of the world's population. Moreover, none of the West's "controlled allies," such as Chiang Kai-shek, Syngman Rhee, and Bao Dai, have been able to produce anything but a mercenary army of uncertain value; India and Pakistan have well-trained troops but are "uncontrolled." The Communists, however, have been able to combine guerrilla forces with regular troops into effective mass armies.

In the five years since World War II the Communist world has received vast accretions of military power. Communist China's immediate fighting strength is at least thirty times as great as that of North Korea, which is called the Soviet Union's smallest satellite. This is a low estimate, for combat power is based not merely



A COMPLICATED QUESTION OF "FACE" FOR THE U.N.

London *Daily Herald*

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on the number of trained troops available but on the skill and experience of their commanders. For warfare under the special military, economic, and political conditions of the Asian theater, the Chinese Communists have an incomparable set of military-political leaders. The highest respect for their generalship was expressed by the American military men who advised Chiang Kai-shek in his long struggle against them. Not all of the four or five million Communist troops are of first caliber, but the hard core of a million and a half indoctrinated combat soldiers is undoubtedly the best fighting force in Asia. Western observers at the battles for Tientsin and Shanghai saw that the Chinese Communists had applied the lessons of Soviet, Japanese, and Western military experience. In addition they know how to move their armies forward by harnessing the twin desires of the Asian masses for national independence and social reform.

The Communists could never have made themselves the masters of China had they not first spearheaded the anti-Japanese movement and later exploited the developing anti-American feeling. Equally decisive was their espousal of the centuries-old Chinese demand for agrarian reform. The strength they have acquired through their political work in the villages more than counterbalances Western technical superiority. Fifty Americans driving fifty trucks can move a lot of military material, but the Communists can move the same amount by mobilizing five thousand peasants. And the peasants do not have to be imported, nor does their fuel.

Like the Russians, the Chinese Communists are convinced they are surrounded by enemies plotting their downfall. There can be little doubt that they entered Korea with the conviction that they were immediately threatened. And their fears can hardly be pooh-poohed while the U. N. forces are under the command of a general whose violent antagonism to them has never been disguised and who on one occasion had to be muffled by President Truman. They feel they should be consulted about the future of Korea just as we should expect to be consulted about the future of Lower California. The alternative to dealing with the Chinese as we should like to be dealt with by others is to have our entire military establishment pinned down in Asia.

Quebec: Unhealthy for Reformers

BY HENRY MONTCALM

LAST February the Vatican announced that it had accepted with regret the resignation of Monsignor Joseph Charbonneau, Archbishop of Montreal, for reasons of health. Quebec has buzzed with rumor and speculation ever since. Every French Canadian paper except those that support Premier Duplessis, which were silent, filled pages with fulsome praise of the departed prelate, "who spent himself without stint for his people and so broke his health." Individuals were more skeptical; indeed, one wonders just what happens to the morale of people who no longer believe anything their ostensible leaders say. The English papers were quite outspoken. A woman reporter on the Montreal *Standard* telephoned the Archbishop at his Victoria retreat, and half crying with distress and excitement, asked for news of his health. The calm voice came to her clearly, "Thank you, Madame S——, I never felt better in my life." The *Tablet,* organ of British Catholicism, asked why no one had been informed that the Archbishop's health was failing. Some recalled that old Archbishop Bruchesi had gone quite mad and had had to be shut away but had kept his title until he died.

Reporters who sped to the great barracks-like archiepiscopal palace on Lagauchetière Street, met the usual veiled answers, through which some of them have learned to see darkly.

"Was there a row with Premier Duplessis?"

"Well, there had been some differences with the temporal power."

"What about arguments over appropriations for the university?"

"There have been some disagreements within the archdiocese."

"Was it Monsignor X?"

"Oh, no."

"Monsignor Y?"

"We really couldn't say."

The reactionary Bishop of Rimouski, Monsignor Courchesne, who recently made a visit to Rome, is most often connected with the case. As to the Duplessis angle, everyone has heard the story that the Archbishop refused to resign, saying he could be removed only for gross misconduct or breach of canon law, which he had possibly overridden in certain minor cases. Thereupon, according to the story, Premier Duplessis sent an emissary armed with the police dossier on his private life—and he made his plane reservation.

Most people in search of motives soon pitched on the Archbishop's stand in last year's asbestos strike. The

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comments of the English papers made Catholic spokesmen furious, since they implied that the future attitude of the church in Quebec would be anti-labor, a dangerous position. The Archbishop had come out boldly for the Catholic syndicates fighting the American Johns-Manville Company, saying from his pulpit, "When there is a conspiracy to destroy the working class, the church must intervene." He and Archbishop Roy of Quebec ordered church-door collections for the strikers, while the provincial police, on Attorney General Duplessis's orders, were beating them up. It was noted that two ministers of the provincial cabinet had gone to Rome for the opening of the Holy Year, taking with them numerous documents. But others asked if the Vatican would yield so readily to pressure from the Quebec government.

An article by Blair Fraser in a Toronto magazine added fresh fuel to the blaze. It described the fight against Dominican Father Levesque of the Laval University School of Social Sciences, and drew a parallel with the Charbonneau case, since Father Levesque is also a liberal and brilliant cleric whose opinions have aroused the enmity of Premier Duplessis. Now there is a new rumor that Archbishop Charbonneau, properly subdued, will be given the Ottawa archdiocese when Monsignor Antoniutti, apostolic delegate, goes home to Rome and is perhaps replaced by a French Canadian archbishop raised to the rank of papal legate.

THE labor struggle is of course important, but it is far from the main factor. The Archbishop, it is true, had a large share in the transformation of the Catholic syndicates from supine instruments of management to fighting unions. Not only did he work with them, but he often conferred with French-speaking leaders of the international unions and encouraged the cooperation among the various labor groups which made it possible during the 1949 legislative session to block Duplessis's proposed disastrous Labor Code. And it is most unlikely that the brilliant young nationalist lawyer who conducted the defense of the textile organizer Madeleine Parent in her trial for attempted bribery—actually it would seem for leading a successful strike against Canada's biggest textile company—would have taken the case without first consulting the Archbishop. Monsignor Charbonneau believed with the French cardinal, "If the church loses the working classes it loses all."

But more than labor policy was at stake. When Joseph Charbonneau at fifty was appointed to his high post, eight years ago, he came to Quebec as an outsider, though a French Canadian. Born in Ontario and partly educated in the United States, he was met with some jealousy and suspicion by the local clergy, who had wanted "one of ours." He was a strikingly handsome man, tall, commanding, stern, intelligent, convinced of his mission, a nationalist who believed in French Canadian culture, but with a wide view of the world.

He was apparently shocked by the lack of opportunity for Quebec youth to obtain a higher education unless their parents already belonged to the professional élite. No student is admitted to Laval University or the University of Montreal without a B. A. degree. The only path in Quebec to that degree, for French Catholic students, is through one of the thirty-two classical colleges run by the Catholic religious orders, mostly Jesuit or Sulpician. Of course the B. A. which they give is not the equivalent of one from an average American college; in fact, the whole plan and conception of education are so dissimilar that there is no valid comparison. The classical college takes a boy at ten or twelve and keeps him eight years. These years are devoted to elementary class work, syntax, method, versification, belles-lettres, rhetoric, philosophy, advanced philosophy. The university sets the final examinations, and the graduate may go directly into law or medical college, or take a fine-arts course leading to a master's degree. The product of the classical college is a gentleman with delightful manners, well versed in French literature—minus Balzac, Anatole France, Zola, and Voltaire—and the papal encyclicals but with wide gaps in his knowledge of history and economics and an almost total ignorance of English literature and of science. He may become a priest, a lawyer, or a doctor, but not a chemist or an engineer. Though fees are low and half the students are day pupils, the classical colleges are out of reach of the workingman's son. Occasionally a bright boy may be recommended for a *bourse* by his curé, especially if his family is devout and he might make a good priest, but such scholarships are scarce. The French high schools, few and crowded, teach no Latin and do not prepare for the university, though the Irish Catholic schools prepare for McGill and Loyola. A good student may get into a technical or engineering or commercial school from a French high school, a girl into teachers' training or home economics. The university might as well be in the moon.

Monsignor Charbonneau studied the setup: three members of the Montreal School Commission are priests appointed by the Archbishop, four are laymen appointed by the provincial government. Then he moved carefully. He gave his special blessing to two colleges, one for boys and one for girls, run by *réligieux* from France who gave a fairly liberal education and had been attacked by a Duplessis cabinet member as Communist; and he started introducing "pre-classics" courses in the public high schools. It is even said he was inclined to put scholarship ahead of orthodoxy as a qualification for full professorship. The fat was in the fire; the Jesuit hold on education was threatened, even though but remotely. An Irish Catholic remarked in private conversation: "You know the French are getting damn sick of this classical-college business. They realize why their kids

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can't go to college. They'll be chasing those boys through the streets with bricks one of these days. Did you know there are 7,000 French children in the Protestant schools right now whose folks have lied about their religion to get them in, so they can go to college later?" Premier Duplessis, it appears, agreed with the Jesuits: last spring he told the Montreal School Commission, "Stop making classical colleges. Your business is elementary education."

The fight for control of the universities is part of the same struggle. Both Montreal and Laval are burdened with huge building programs and need money desperately, for which the only visible source is the provincial government. Shortly after the Archbishop vanished, the governing body of the University of Montreal was reconstituted, making place for certain members to be appointed by the government, that is, by Premier Duplessis. The new archbishop, who, like Monsignor Charbonneau, is by virtue of his office chancellor of the university, is a Sulpician. While he was Bishop of Valleyfield, he permitted the local seminary students to break up meetings of the A. F. of L. textile union then being organized. He has given no evidence of any intention to interfere with the educational system or to work for union cooperation, but has cultivated good relations with the press and made friends in many places.

Senator T. D. Bouchard, stormy petrel of the Liberal Party, good Catholic, and stout anti-clerical, has put forward the thesis that Monsignor Charbonneau was ousted for refusing to sign the pastoral letter of the Quebec bishops, published a few weeks after his leaving, because it advocated corporatism as a solution of the difficulties between capital and labor. The same letter commented wisely on the lack of satisfaction which the industrial worker gets from his job, and demanded greater participation for the working class in both management and ownership of industry. It is doubtful that the Archbishop balked on that issue, since *Le Devoir,* the daily which he purchased some years ago for the archdiocese, has steadily preached corporatism in one form or another. While the Archbishop may not have subscribed to every line of *Le Devoir,* he certainly had a hand in directing its main policies.

What in all this most concerns Americans is the widespread belief that Monsignor Charbonneau was wanted out of the way because of his opposition to American domination of Quebec and to the participation of Quebec in war, cold or hot. French Canadian opposition to any imperialist war, dating far back, is a burr on the tail of Canadian collaboration with United States foreign policy. It does not stop it, but it is annoying. However anti-Communist Quebec may be, it wants no war. As for conscription, the word starts riots. Letters to the French papers say, "Because the Communists say it is raining, must I say it is a fine day?"

Quebeckers comment bitterly on the fact that no French Canadian has received the red hat since Cardinal Villeneuve's death: Cardinal McGuigan of Toronto is the only Canadian cardinal. Some people believe, perhaps without justification, that this is due to Cardinal Spellman's influence. They also hold Spellman, and the American State Department, responsible for the absence in these perilous days of the man who would have been the most effective champion of peace.

No Comment

THE NORTH SACRAMENTO CITY COUNCIL voted to lift rent controls after hearing from landlords, representatives of the Mather and McClellan Air Force Bases, and others. . . . Mayor Henry Miller, Jr., commented: "Present rent controls absolutely trample on the rights of landlords. Rent is a commodity on the shelf for the public to buy. If you don't want to buy you don't have to. If we must have rent control let us have controls on everything."—From the Sacramento, California, *Bee,* August 29.

"BE-BOP" MUSIC drew attention during Wednesday testimony by Harry Patterson, commercial manager of KFVD Los Angeles. Patterson said Mr. Richards once ordered him not to play be-bop. "Mr. Richards said be-bop had a communistic influence because of its nerve-wracking quality," he testified.—From *Broadcasting Magazine,* April 3.

THE INTERNATIONAL BASKETBALL FEDERATION has suspended the Yugoslav basketball team from international matches for nine months for having refused to play against Franco Spain at the world-championship match in Buenos Aires.—Yugoslav News Agency, November 7.

THE CITY COUNCIL of San Diego . . . rejected President Franklin D. Roosevelt's listing of the "Four Freedoms" as a war-memorial inscription after Admiral William H. Standley, U. S. N., retired, objected to the ideology involved. . . . Explaining the representations he made to several council members, Standley, Mr. Roosevelt's appointee as ambassador to Russia in 1942, . . . said: "Two of the four freedoms on President Roosevelt's list are highly inappropriate for such a plaque. Freedom from want is a Russian communistic slogan. A fellow who is free from want is dead. Freedom from fear is a political slogan. Our American pioneers did not have to apologize for their fear of the Indians."—From the San Francisco, California, *Chronicle,* February 17.

NOTWITHSTANDING the inclemency of the weather nearly 3,000 citizens on Thursday evening last assembled to discuss the question: "How can any man under the influence of Masonic Oaths discharge with fidelity the duties of any important office in the gift of the people, according to the true nature of our Free Institutions?"—From the Boston, Massachusetts, *Patriot and Mercantile Advertiser,* August 30, 1830.

[*Readers are invited to contribute to No Comment. Two dollars will be paid for each item printed.*]

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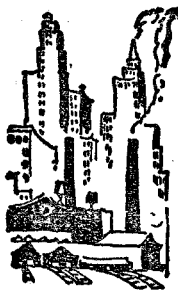

EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Iron-Hungry America

AMERICAN economic self-sufficiency is pretty much a thing of the past. Given full employment, we cannot supply from internal resources nearly all the raw materials required by industry. This is true even of commodities of which this country remains a major producer. Thus although domestic production of copper, lead, zinc, and aluminum is very large, the United States has ceased to be a net exporter of these metals and become a net importer.

The steel industry, so basic to our economic life, has been built to its present huge size almost entirely on native resources of high-grade iron ore and coking coal. But as new metallurgical discoveries have led to the manufacture of many varieties of steel, it has become increasingly dependent on foreign supplies of such alloy metals as nickel, tungsten, manganese, and chrome. And now the steel industry finds it must go abroad to satisfy its growing appetite for iron ore.

This does not mean that we are threatened with the early exhaustion of our iron-ore reserves. There are many large deposits in the country, some of them quite unexploited, on which we might draw if the need became desperate. But to be economically valuable, under present conditions, ores must contain a fairly high percentage of metal unless they are found, like some of the English ones, in close proximity to supplies of coking coal. For in the manufacture of iron and steel the cost of assembling the materials is a major consideration.

Since 1900 a large proportion of America's steel has been derived from the ores of the Mesabi Range in northern Minnesota and the coal of Pennsylvania and Ohio. Thanks to the richness of this ore, the fact that it can be obtained by open-cut mining, and the cheapness of water transport on the Great Lakes, the difficulties of distance between ore and coal have been overcome. But now the supply of high-grade Mesabi ore, with an iron content of 50 per cent or better, appears to be within sight of exhaustion. And since what remains constitutes an important strategic reserve, it is very desirable that consumption should be curtailed. Hence the steel industry has been looking for alternative sources from which to feed both its existing furnaces and the many new ones it plans to put in operation during the next five years.

In the Lake Superior region there are gigantic reserves of a hard rock known as taconite which has an iron content of about 33 per cent. Unfortunately this metal is in the form of finely diffused particles, so that before the ore can be used as a charge for blast furnaces it must be pulverized and its iron concentrated. After carrying out intensive researches, steel engineers believe that they have discovered how to perform this operation economically, and a number of pilot plants to process taconite are now in operation or under construction. If they fulfil present hopes, we should have an assured domestic supply of iron ore at some additional cost.

A second solution for the problem is importation of high-grade ores. In a small way this has been done for many years, chiefly by the Bethlehem Steel Company, whose plant at Sparrows Point, Maryland, has used Cuban and, more recently, Chilean ores. Another leading concern, Republic Steel, is working Liberian deposits said to exceed 120,000,000 tons with an iron content ranging from 42 to 66 per cent.

But both the Chilean and Liberian fields seem of minor importance compared with those recently discovered in Canada and Venezuela. In the first of these, situated in the cold wilds north of the St. Lawrence, partly in Quebec and partly in Labrador, reserves of 400,000,000 tons of high-grade ore have already been proved, and further exploration seems certain to add greatly to this total. The magnitude of the undertaking is shown by the capitalization of the Iron Ore Company of Canada, which has secured the concession, at $225,000,000, and its encouraging prospects by the fact that $100,000,000 in first-mortgage bonds is being subscribed by a group of American and Canadian life-insurance companies. Equity capital is being supplied by the wealthy Timmins group of Canada in partnership with six leading American steel and iron companies.

To move this Canadian ore, a 360-mile railroad is being built with a southern terminus at Seven Islands on the St. Lawrence. From this point shipments will be made by water to Great Lakes and East Coast consuming centers. Eventually they are expected to exceed 10,000,000 tons annually.

The Venezuelan development of the United States Steel Company is also a major undertaking and should in time produce an equally large addition to American ore supplies. In this case a 96-mile railroad must be built from Cerro Bolivar, a huge mountain estimated to be 60 per cent pure iron, to the Orinoco River, which is to be deepened for ocean-going vessels. Some part of the ore is to be shipped to Mobile to enrich the extensive low-grade ores worked by "Big Steel's" subsidiary, the Tennessee Coal, Iron and Railroad Company; the rest will supply plants in the Northeast, including a large integrated mill to be built on the Delaware River near Trenton.

This Venezuelan venture may prove a profitable venture for "Big Steel," and it promises important economic benefits to this country. Whether it will prove good business for the Venezuelan people is another matter. In an article in the current *Atlantic Monthly*, Benjamin F. Fairless, president of United States Steel, expresses "appreciation of the friendly and understanding help" of the Venezuelan government. "Knowing that the survival of democracy on this earth may depend on the steel that we produce today, these Venezuelan officials are playing a full, conscientious, and patriotic part in the defense of the civilized world." Knowing that the present Venezuelan government came to power by a military coup d'état which overthrew a democratically elected government, I have a more cynical explanation of its friendly attitude. Nor would I be surprised if some future and more legitimate government questioned the validity of the Cerro Bolivar concession. Certainly Venezuelans are entitled to argue that so valuable a national resource should be used not merely for the benefit of the United States but to promote the industrial development of their own country.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The American Character

THE LONELY CROWD. By David Riesman, in Collaboration with Reuel Denney and Nathan Glazer. Yale University Press. $4.

THIS book is a study of American character by a sociologist of rare imagination. It ranges over large areas of our national life—popular culture, sexual habits, child-rearing practices, social status, politics. Let me offer an initial blunt judgment: "The Lonely Crowd" is very uneven but always provocative, alternately brilliant and sluggish, exciting and exasperating.

By far the best part of the book is its first half, in which Riesman sets up three "ideal" character types—tradition-directed, inner-directed, and outer-directed—as devices to register the changing qualities of our experience. In a tradition-directed society the culture controls behavior minutely, there are rigid patterns of social and moral etiquette, and people are unconcerned about variant styles of life, since the mark of tradition is that it not be thought of as a problem. In an inner-directed society men live by implanted, conscious goals which no longer require so high a degree of external behavior conformity as did the old traditions, but which provide compelling ideals of character and powerful sanctions for initiative.

Riesman sees most Americans drifting toward the outer-directed character type: they are motivated most of all by a need for the approval of their contemporaries, whose pressures are exerted either directly or through the mass culture media. The outer-directed person staggers under a great burden of anxiety: am I doing the right thing? He transforms his public personality into a public-relations bureau and makes himself into its product. Where the inner-directed person could be found in such "old" middle-class occupations as engineering, small business, and trades, the outer-directed person flourishes in the "new" bureaucratized middle class of executives, personnel managers, middlemen, and glad-handers.

Riesman wishes his terms to be taken descriptively rather than normatively, but it is hard to accede to his wish. For while it is true, as he says, that traditional values can be tyrannical and that "a scoundrel who knows what he aims for can be as unequivocally inner-directed as a God-fearing Puritan," these two character types still seem more attractive than the multiplying breed of glad-handers, if only because they are open to a variety of contents, good or bad, while the conformism of the glad-hander is distasteful regardless of what he conforms to.

Riesman is at his best, often strikingly brilliant, when he describes the effects of outer-directed values on our culture. He shrewdly distinguishes between the old Veblenese conspicuous consumer who sought, at least, to dazzle his fellows, and the modern glad-hander who wants merely to be indistinguishable from them. In the large corporations, Riesman finds, the aggressive lone wolf is being replaced by a "team" built up by top executives on a "non-kin patronage system." And among the minor executives, those very epitomes of glad-handing, he finds neither competition nor cooperation but what he cleverly calls "antagonistic cooperation."

In the life of the outer-directed person distinctions between work and leisure break down: the work day is varnished with glad-hand sociability, while leisure time becomes a "night shift" loaded with the anxieties of work. Thus "the entertainment fields serve the audience today less and less as an escape from daily life, more and more as a continuous sugar-coated lecture on how to get along with the 'others.'" For the outer-directed person the "last frontier" of pleasure is sex, the one thing in his life he knows he *must* enjoy.

Perhaps the liveliest sections of "The Lonely Crowd" deal with the life of our progressive middle class. Here, to cite a random example, is Riesman's analysis of how "modern mothers" train their children to be well-adjusted little monsters: "The daily schedule is an effort, with mother as chauffeur and booking agent, to cultivate all the currently essential talents, especially the gregarious ones. It is inconceivable to some supervising adults that a child might prefer his own company or that of just another child."

As a mordant yet controlled criticism of American life, the first part of "The Lonely Crowd" is very fine, and I would offer only two criticisms of it. Though he does relate his character types to population levels, Riesman tells us little about their social origins or their connection with levels of economic development. We should like to know, for example, whether there is a connection between the rise of the glad-handers and the changing economic position of the United States since the First World War, or whether the outer-directed type has flourished in the environment of New Deal bureaucratic liberalism. Secondly, Riesman fails to compare middle-class and working-class behavior patterns. It is quite legitimate to assume that the middle class is "representative" in a study of American character, but a great many useful distinctions would arise at that point where the workers diverge from middle-class *mores*. There are situations on the assembly line in which workers engage in genuine cooperation, and this sometimes gives their life a spontaneous lightness and friendliness absent from the life of memo-bound glad-handers.

When Riesman shows the inner-directed type as a "moralizer" in our political life and the outer-directed as an "inside-dopester" he continues the same impressionistic investigation which makes the first part of his book excellent reading. But I must strongly cavil at the theory of society he then proposes. Like other recent liberal theorists he rejects the idea that there is a significant class structure in America and suggests that what matters is the rival "veto groups" struggling for social wealth and power. There is simply no space to argue this question as it should be argued, but it seems strange that Riesman fails to comment on such authoritative studies of social stratification as those by Lynd, Centers, and Hollingshead, and that

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precisely at a time when social strata in America are becoming rigid and when there is an increase in class identification, if not in class aggressiveness, he should suggest a rather idyllic theory of an open and fluid society in which each group needs only to exert its proper energy in order to gain its proper reward. How, in any case, can any meaningful pattern be assigned to the maneuverings of "veto groups" except in so far as they are seen in a fluctuating relationship to basic class alignments? Thus Riesman's view of American society leads him to remark that "the bullet that killed McKinley marked the end of the days of the explicit class leadership." I should be curious to know where this leaves Herbert Hoover.

Riesman's theory of society will be familiar to anyone acquainted with liberal thought, but I must confess that his final section, in which he recommends play as a means of achieving "autonomous" character, leaves me nonplussed. Much of what he says here is no doubt intelligent, but the idea of play as social solution or therapy, particularly when it follows Riesman's scouring criticism of American life, seems to me quite unrelated to the world we live in. Riesman says that "we need rapidly to expand the tertiary trades that cater to leisure," but neglects to discuss the likelihood of such expansion in a war economy. And, in any case, what kind of play can we have in *this* world, this world as it actually is? My vacation this past summer was badly marred by anxieties about a possible new war. Are such anxieties excessive?

What disturbs me most about "The Lonely Crowd" is a kind of dissociation it displays between its author's cultural dispositions and political opinions. In his discussion of American living and American culture Riesman shares the taste of those modern intellectuals who instinctively gravitate toward the tragic, the despairing, the radical, but as political analyst he goes along with that mild optimistic ameliorism which has so incapacitated American liberalism. This split is not unique to Riesman, and I think that it is Riesman the cultural critic who actually apprehends the quality and nature of contemporary experience; it is this Riesman who seems to me most authentic and profound.

The sad thing is that in the end he partly repudiates his best insights. "Many critics of the popular arts," he writes, "fail to observe . . . how good American movies, popular novels, and magazines frequently are." It is a pity that Riesman has not been specific about this, though his description of the *New Yorker* as "the principal upholder of an Addisonian tradition" suggests that it is not an unmixed pity.

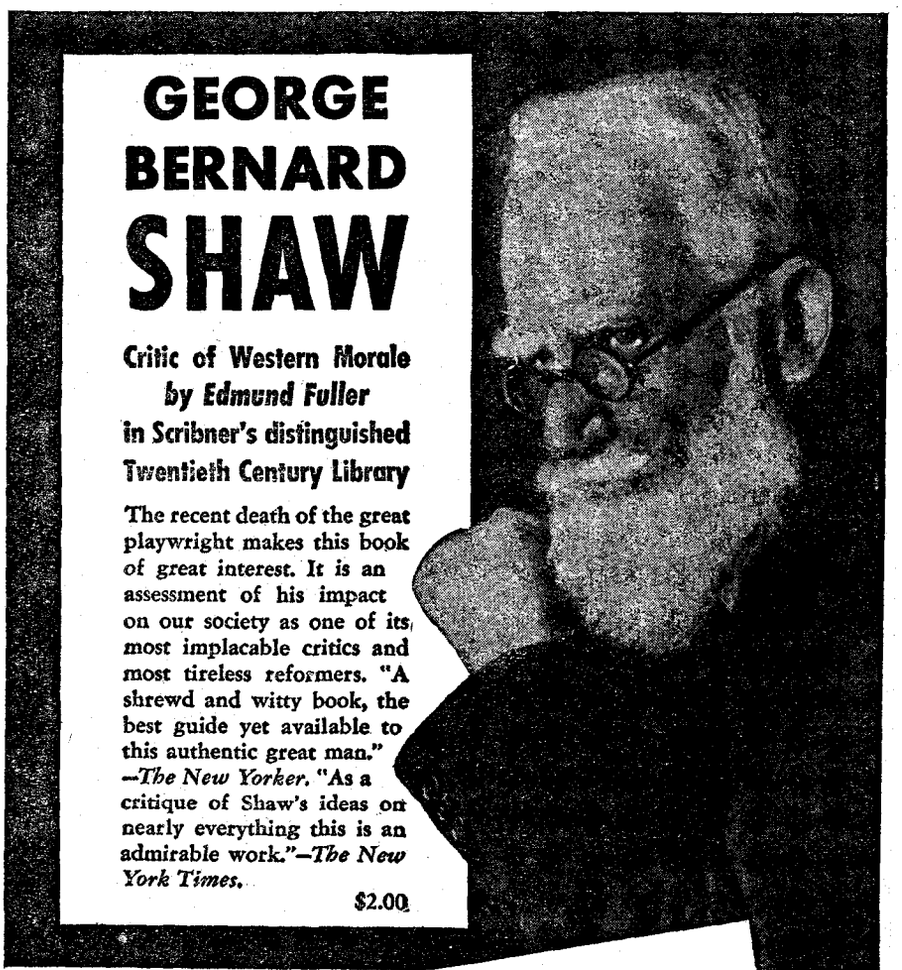
The crucial question is this: suppose Riesman is right, suppose the *avant garde* critics have failed to see just how good our popular culture is—how good *is* it?

IRVING HOWE

Redemption by Negation

THE SUPREME IDENTITY. By Alan W. Watts. Pantheon Books. $3.50.

CONSIDERING that the historical dynamism of Western culture has brought us to the climax of global and atomic wars it is probably inevitable that some sensitive spirits should try to find the answer to life's problems in the spirituality of the Orient. Alan Watts's new book is one of the ablest of such efforts. Steeped as he is in the mysticism of the East, he draws particularly upon Taoism and Zen Buddhism to construct his scheme of redemption for what he regards as West-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ern man's intolerable situation. Readers of Aldous Huxley's "Perennial Philosophy" will know the general thesis; but this book is more carefully reasoned than Huxley's.

Briefly the argument is that Western culture, whether in its Christian or in its secular variety, is based upon doctrines of "self-realization" which separate the self from the whole of the web of life. The self increases its insecurity in its efforts at self-realization. It is covered with a sense of guilt because even its most generous actions cannot obscure the ultimate egotism of its motives. The way out is to affirm the "supreme identity of the self and the infinite." This means to accept what the self is and does "just as it is." The self, according to this creed, is not identical with the "ego." The ego must in fact be completely destroyed in order that a self may achieve a perfect identity with the infinite. It is the measure of the distance between this type of thought and our own that we find it difficult to understand how this absorption of the ego into the "all" can be called the attainment of selfhood.

One of the most revealing aspects of the doctrine is that it requires men to sacrifice everything that seems most uniquely human, their memories and hopes for instance. "All egocentric action has an eye to the past and the future; in the strict present the ego does not exist. . . . Because the present is a sizeless and infinitesimal point, there is no room in it for the ego." In short, the way to true humanity is to be less than human. The human conquest of nature must also be disavowed: "The Oriental mind has the deepest respect for the balance of nature which we have so profoundly upset in agriculture, in industry, in animal husbandry, in medicine, and in the social order."

Whatever may be the evils of our Western preoccupation with "standards of living," this glorification of Oriental poverty and a supposedly "organic" Oriental society seems the height of absurdity. To read in one sitting this book and John Muehl's description of the pathetic realities of the Orient in his "Interview with India" makes one realize the depth of the crisis of our age. Our own unsolved problems can persuade sensitive spirits that a negation of our admittedly precarious humanity is the way to a truer humanity. Meanwhile an even more demonic historical dynamism than any criticized in this book—namely, communism—moves forward in the Orient and overwhelms the frail societies and civilizations based upon the negation of life.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Prelude to the Civil War

THE EMERGENCE OF LINCOLN. By Allan Nevins. Charles Scribner's Sons. Two Volumes. $12.50.

IN "Ordeal of the Union" (1947) Professor Nevins set himself the imposing task of writing a full-scale history of the Civil War. The two volumes under review carry him from the inauguration of Buchanan in 1857 onward to the assumption of power by the Republicans in 1861. In these pages is the story of the crucial decisions by men or by events that brought the nation to the tragic trial by rebellion. This story has tested the interpretative powers of almost all the great American historians; and it exercises a continuing fascination for our own times, which face comparable dilemmas related to the exercise of political power for moral ends.

The central problem of this book is the nature of the secession that was the prelude to war. Examining the causes of the break-up of the Union, Nevins is no determinist; explicitly he rejects any monistic view of the matter. As late as November, 1860, he seems to think, a national constitutional convention called by the states might have healed the widening breach between the sections. Throughout the work he calls attention to the failures of statesmanship, the lack of courage, and the myopic vision of the nation's leaders, as if these individual deficiencies were decisive.

Yet the account also calls attention to a succession of crises that seem to transcend the personal, crises which involved commitments from which there was no turning back—the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Dred Scott Decision, John Brown's raid, the disruption of the Democratic convention of 1860, and the impasse over the forts in Charleston harbor. The evolution of these critical incidents would seem to reflect the operation of some more fundamental divisive forces over which individuals had only limited powers of control.

Nevins thus appears to be writing on two levels, dealing with two orders of events. On one level his subject is the maladroit fumbling of petty politicians. On the other it is the deepening social and economic chasm between two sections which cannot any longer accommodate themselves to a common political authority. If by the 1850's the dynamics of slavery in a world setting had brought the United States to the point at which "it could not much longer remain a slaveholding republic," what difference did Buchanan's vacillation make?

This is a question which has intrinsic historical interest. It is also a question that must concern men who face analogous problems in their own lives today. But it is a question Professor Nevins never really confronts.

The structure of his book reveals the ambiguity of his attitude. The social developments of the period are considered in a number of broad topical chapters which spill out beyond the four-year time span of the work. But there is no connection between these general observations and the main body of the volumes, which follows a simple chronological sequence. The result is that the general factors in the whole situation are suspended in the background while the narrative is encumbered with details of the machinations of politicians. The little vignettes of the actors in the drama, the descriptions of the setting in Washington or Charleston or Springfield, the details of party maneuvering may in themselves be interesting, but they are not meaningfully linked to those fundamental economic and social developments which account for the differences between the sections.

The gap is most evident in the treatment of the Abolitionists. To Nevins the believers in immediate emancipation and the Radical Republicans are just extremists, of a kind with the Southern fire-eaters. In his eyes Garrison, Phillips, Higginson, and Parker positively exulted "in talk of disruption, battle, and bloodshed," and were cowards to the bargain. That these charges are not true is less significant than that they should be made. The bitterness with which Nevins writes about the Abolitionists indicates that he has no comprehension that the content of their extremism differentiates these men from

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the Rhetts and the Yanceys. There is surely a difference between being a fanatic for freedom and being a fanatic for slavery.

Yet in the book itself is material that might have revealed another dimension of abolition. Near the beginning of Volume I is a long chapter that bears the title, Not From a Vain or Shallow Thought. That chapter deals with the emergence of a literature to which America could point as one of its proudest achievements. It does not occur to Professor Nevins to speculate on how the producers of that literature became wrapped up in abolition. Separating the generality of currents of thought from the details of political action, he cannot perceive there were ideas common to both.

OSCAR HANDLIN

Nineteenth-Century Painters

IMPRESSIONISTS AND SYMBOLISTS. By Lionello Venturi. Charles Scribner's Sons. $5.

THIS volume is a continuation of Venturi's discussion, in "Modern Painters," of the major painters of the nineteenth century from Goya through Courbet. In the earlier book he traced the rise of the impressionist point of view in the decades prior to the advent of the impressionists themselves. In the present work the theme is fully developed.

Although Manet's connection with the impressionists was ostensibly external, Venturi rightly claims for this great renovator of tradition nothing less than the unleashing of the whole modern movement. "With the Olympia he introduced the principle of the autonomy of vision into art, and all modern art has used it as a basis and a banner." Despite his self-imposed isolation Degas, another traditionalist, explored the potentialities of impressionism in his later years, and achieved "a richness of color that he had previously not known" and, "despite all the torment, a joy that is not present in the pictures of his early years." Venturi proceeds to Claude Monet, the real leader of the impressionist movement; to Pissarro, that amiable and variable artist through whom many younger painters learned its methods; and to Sisley, English-born disciple of Gainsborough and Bonington. It was Renoir, however, who shifted the impressionists' art of painting light on water and foliage into a gay and sensuous record of the Parisian scene. In their vastly differing ways Cézanne and Seurat strove to make impressionism as durable and as detached as classic art. On the other hand, the strongly aggressive natures of Gauguin, Van Gogh, and Toulouse-Lautrec —Van Gogh was aggressively humble— caused them to transpose impressionism into highly personalized expressions of the noble savage, the presence of God in nature, and the acid comedy of vice.

Venturi is very successful in distinguishing between the temperaments of the last five of these artists. It used to be customary to group them under the term "post-impressionist"; seldom has a term meant so little. The violent social overtones of the last three— strikingly absent in Seurat and Cézanne —were partially responsible for their becoming the point of departure for German and Scandinavian expressionism. To think of this trio as proto-expressionist might be helpful, if their place in the history of art must have a name. But as Venturi says in his epilogue, "In this book the reader will have found no praise of a 'classical renaissance' nor of the value of realism and impressionism or symbolism: his attention has been directed to the absolute value of the individual artists." This is a book of criticism, detailed and sharply revealing, and a book about subtle minds fired by high ideals.

These essays achieve a final unity in the epilogue, where Venturi gathers many threads together into a final generalization: "Let us call the era of painting between 1870 and 1900 *the period of the struggle for autonomy.*" His opinions are based on more than twenty years of study of and writing about this period, which he feels must be counted among the greatest in the history of painting. He was very wise to write an epilogue rather than a preface, for he has been able to rise to the occasion: the epilogue has the solemnity of a nearly final judgment.

There are elaborate bibliographies, strangely weak, however, in periodical literature since the late thirties. The two hundred-odd reproductions, all in black and white, are merely adequate. These are placed at the end, but the list of plates, which alone gives the locations of the pictures, occurs at the beginning. It would be hard to devise a clumsier arrangement for making the illustrations accompany the text. Nevertheless, a superb selection from works all over the world has been made. Among those owned in this country several are wrongly located: Cézanne's Portrait of a Monk, which was allowed to leave the Frick Collection, was quickly acquired by a private collector; Gauguin's Yellow Christ is now at Buffalo, in the Albright Art Gallery; Van Gogh's Self-Portrait with a Pipe (with the bandaged right ear) and Lautrec's La Goulue Between Her Sister and a Dancer are in private collections in Chicago and New York respectively.

I was disappointed to find Manet's portrait of Zola—in the Louvre—passed off as merely an instance of vitality "attenuated by accurate finish and superfluous detail." This picture is one of Manet's most elegant works, in my opinion. Its quality has perhaps been concealed from critics because they expect something different as a record of Emile Zola. In actuality, it is a portrait

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of Zola only in the most superficial sense; and it is very nearly a self-portrait of Manet, even though he painted it as a gesture of friendship to his great champion of the 1860's.

Photography and Japanese prints deeply affected, though of course in very different ways, the development of late nineteenth-century painting. It is curious that Venturi pays little or no attention to these phenomena, especially so in the discussion of Degas. It is worth recalling that the first impressionist show (1874) was held in the studio of Nadar, a fine photographer and good friend of the impressionist painters. And that Vincent Van Gogh bought not only his paints from old Tanguy in Paris but Japanese prints as well. He painted two portraits of Père Tanguy, as the old man was called, and in both of them the entire background is plastered with Japanese art.

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Drama

MARGARET MARSHALL

JEAN ANOUILH'S "Ring Round the Moon" (Martin Beck Theater) is set in 1912, in the world before the wars, and it is an incarnation of that world not as it really was but as it seems to us now after all that has happened since—an iridescent bubble about to dissolve in the harsh air of a time of troubles, of war and revolution. It was M. Anouilh who wrote the modern version of "Antigone" which played in Paris during the "polite" German occupation and was not suppressed for all that it was an attack on the occupiers. M. Anouilh's gaiety, then, is that of one who has survived experience, not of one who has never had it. This sort of gaiety is rare—it is practically non-existent in our own theater; in this case the gaiety is also incorrigibly French and incorrigibly sophisticated. I shall be interested to see how it goes on Broadway—and hope to be happily surprised.

The plot of "Ring Round the Moon" is as intricate as the plots of Mozart's operas, and the play is appropriately described as a charade with music. It takes place in the winter garden of Madame Desmermortes' château in Auvergne, which is literally out of this world; it is punctuated by five curtains by Raoul Dufy, whose style is perfectly suited to the spirit of the piece; the costumes by Castillo are sufficiently of the period to be funny but not too funny to be charming; the tone is a fine blend of irony and nostalgia; the pace is swift, the acting excellent.

Madame Desmermortes, a grande dame in a wheel chair—wealthy, worldly, and well-born, defender of proprieties and status but grown both mischievous and benign in old age—is the center round which the bright nonsense whirls, like streamers round a maypole; and Lucile Watson is so patently Madame Desmermortes that one can't imagine her as anyone else. The tour de force of the evening, however, is the performance of Denholm Elliott. He plays twin brothers of quite opposite temperaments, and he not only acts but looks the part of each so well that one knows which twin it is the moment he appears. Stella Andrew as the ballet dancer who is hired by one of the twins to impersonate a Cinderella at the ball and save the other twin from a disastrous marriage seems at first to be ill-cast. One is never convinced that she is a ballet dancer, but she turns out, Cinderella-wise, to be a very accomplished actress. She is particularly effective in the highly amusing scene with Messerschmann, the melancholy millionaire who tries to buy her off—and Oscar Karlweis as the millionaire, formerly a tailor from Cracow, is as skilful as one expects him to be. Francis Compton as Joshua, "a crumbling butler," Cynthia Latham as Capulate, the "faded companion" of Madame Desmermortes, Brenda Forbes as the silly mother of the ballet dancer—they are all excellent. Georgina Cookson as Lady India, Messerschmann's mistress secretly in love with his secretive secretary, deserves special notice. Her dance-conversation with her lover is deliciously funny.

"Ring Round the Moon" was translated, with great fidelity to the letter and spirit if one may judge by the sound, by Christopher Fry, whose own brand of gaiety is expressed in "The Lady's Not for Burning." It is interesting that two contemporary European playwrights who are aware of and sensitive to the destruction and despair of the past decades should speak in accents both affirmative and gay.

I was rather disappointed in the revival of Vanbrugh's "The Relapse" (Morosco Theater). The play itself (1695) is amusing—and bawdy—and still sufficiently topical, so to speak. The production is nicely mounted. But the tone is wrong. The players are much too conscious of taking part in a revival, and they work so hard at enunciating their lines and pressing their points that they end by spoiling, not creating, an illusion. The performances of Madge Elliott as Berinthia and Ruth Matteson as Amanda seem most natural to the period and the piece. Cyril Ritchard as Lord Foppington is fairly convincing, but a little subtlety and restraint would make him much more so. Sir Tunbelly, the crude country squire, and his crude retainers are more repulsive than amusing, and his daughter, Hoyden, might have come out of "Tobacco Road."

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The opening scene of "Guys and Dolls" (Forty-sixth Street Theater) is very engaging. The setting is Times Square, and it is populated with Broadway characters of the seamier sort, a frustrated policeman, sightseers, and the Save-a-Soul Mission band. All very promising, but the promise is kept only intermittently from then on. Of the principals Vivian Blaine as Miss Adelaide is by far the most consistently amusing. She also has the best number in the show—a song about the psychosomatic cold which is very good indeed. Of the marginal characters Nicely-Nicely Johnson (Stubby Kaye), Nathan Detroit (Sam Levene), and Harry the Horse (Tom Pedi) are noteworthy. The Crap-Game Dance is quite fetching.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

THE New York City Opera Company's "Faust" had the usual weaknesses of the company's productions—scenery and staging, including the inevitable innovation, which this time consisted of introducing a group of evil spirits to join Mephistopheles in terrifying Marguerite in the church scene. But the opera was beautifully sung by Frances Yeend, Giulio Gari, Norman Scott and Walter Cassell, among others, and was conducted by Morel with the musicality and authority that were evident in the grace and plasticity of the performance, the precision, clarity, and finish of the orchestra's playing.

The company's "Die Meistersinger" was a superb and amazing achievement —though not an unflawed one. H. A. Condell's scenery was, for once, good; Otto Erhardt's staging made excellent dramatic sense; the singing and acting were mostly first-rate. It is not often that one encounters an impersonation so richly, subtly, intelligently, and effectively detailed as James Pease's Hans Sachs, which ranks with the best I have seen; but instead of being made up as an elderly widower he was given the unlined face and light brown hair and beard of a handsome man in his early or middle thirties whom any girl with eyes in her head would unquestionably prefer to Hans Beirer's Walther. Pease also sang very beautifully, though with insufficient carrying power near the end; Beirer produced a clear, ringing *forte* but a coarse *piano*. Richard Wentworth's Kothner was the best acted and sung I can recall; David Lloyd's David one of the best; Oscar Natzke sang Pogner well; Emile Renan, in an atrociously colored wig, brought some finesse to the heavy-handed Beckmesser caricature that flaws Wagner's masterwork; Ellen Faull's singing as Eva was lovely (but even at a distance one could see the vibration of her tongue, which indicated something wrong in technique); and Margery Mayer's rich mezzo-soprano was an uncustomary pleasure in the music of Magdalena. Most of what one saw and heard on the stage was, then, excellent; but the orchestra which had been precise, clear, and finished under Morel was ragged, coarse, and unclear under the less authoritative Rosenstock. It would be interesting to hear "Die Meistersinger" conducted by Morel: my guess is that it would have something like the plasticity and clarity of the Toscanini performance I heard in Salzburg.

A singer's opening aria normally is something she uses to warm up her voice and work off her nervousness; and so it was an extraordinary experience to hear the young soprano Victoria de los Angeles produce in her very first phrase notes that were fully as lovely and secure as those she continued to amaze one with the rest of the evening. Impressive too in the opening recitative and aria from Monteverdi's "Orfeo" were the dramatic expressiveness and feeling for the musical phrase that also continued to be heard thereafter. And what the subsequent pieces revealed further was the variety of styles in which all this equipment was used effectively. Her performance of Schubert's "Rastlose Liebe," with its exaggerated expansions and contractions of tone, was a failure only with this song, not with the genre—as her exquisite singing of Schumann's "Der Nussbaum" and other German songs demonstrated. And the second recital confirmed these first impressions of remarkable voice, temperament, and musicianship.

Remarkable too was the musical and technical equipment young Friedrich Gulda revealed in his clearly outlining conceptions of Haydn's Andante and Variations and Beethoven's Sonata Opus 111, and in his execution of those conceptions on the piano, which was unfailingly accurate and almost unfailingly beautiful in sound. What the performance of Opus 111 lacked was the intensifying impress of further experience and playing.

The Little Orchestra Society's opening concert provided an opportunity for me to hear Ernest Bloch's "Voice in the Wilderness" again after ten years. It had seemed to me his finest work, not only in the quality of its ideas but in the clarity of its sectional structure; but this time I found only the ideas of the slow sections impressive, and the brevity of the sections made the structure seem short-breathed.

CONTRIBUTORS

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LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Farber Overcritical

Dear Sirs: Your Manny Farber is, in my opinion, one of the most thoroughly annoying critics I have ever read. The term critic hardly does him justice: he is more of a professional pessimist and finger-pointer. I once thought the *New Yorker's* Wolcott Gibbs was a confirmed and unrepentant sourpuss, but in that department Farber could give him aces and spades.

I have looked long and earnestly through dozens of *Nations*, hoping to be able to find one favorable criticism, one ordinary comment like "this picture is pretty good," or "the acting left something to be desired but the point went over," or even "you might possibly enjoy this one." But no. He obviously long ago reached the conclusion that no picture ever produced or likely to be produced in Hollywood has any merit whatsoever, all directors are sneaky and inept mechanics, all performers puppets or automatons, and all dialogue drizzly, dreary, mangled, or downright idiotic. And he couches all his remarks in such recondite language that he comes out sounding pretty profound.

I could forgive him his dissection of "Riding High," or even his snappings at the motives and techniques of Capra, Huston, Reed, *et al.* But when he laces into "The Men," "Home of the Brave," "No Way Out," and some of the others, the man is just raving. I daresay there is some good (perhaps not *art*) even in the run-of-the-mill Hollywood output; how much more so in these authentically produced, deftly acted, and altogether competent films? MAX BART

Los Angeles, Cal., November 24

Schism in Liberal Ranks

Dear Sirs: I have been rereading Ross's "Strategy for Liberals" and Schlesinger's "The Vital Center" in connection with a thought that hounds me—namely, how to bridge the schism between union liberals and other liberals? I doubt whether any more vital need confronts us than getting these two groups to work in harmony on specific projects which will teach them their power and start a true liberal-reactionary polarity.

What group is today discussing the general problem of the best way to release the strength of the liberal forces? On what basis can the various factions be harmonized? What are the criteria for deciding the superiority of one policy over others designed to bring about a change? Systematic thought in this field seems increasingly indispensable.

Finally, can persons interested in this problem find an existing methodology to help them? Can applied anthropologists, psychologists, union leaders, or consultants on organization supply one? The few experiments I know of have been rewarding about in proportion to the courage with which they were initiated.

Would any of your readers care to comment on the implications of this question or the possibilities of organizing a project to investigate it?

FRANCIS GOODELL

Craigville, Mass., November 19

Distributing Lattimore

Dear Sirs: A project has been initiated for effecting a wider distribution of Owen Lattimore's book, "Ordeal by Slander," describing his experience under attack by Senator McCarthy, and analyzing the urgent problem of freedom of discussion.

Bantam Books will issue in January a twenty-five-cent edition of "Ordeal by Slander," but before that time it will be possible to buy from this publisher lots of 100 books at $15, provided they are distributed free for public education. We are purchasing as individuals 100 copies and giving them to people we know and suggesting that they do the same thing.

The books for this purpose can be obtained from Bantam Books, 25 West Forty-fifth Street, New York 19, New York. We think that your readers may be interested in joining us.

PEARL S. BUCK
JOHN K. FAIRBANK
NATHANIEL PEFFER

New York, November 25

Correction

Dear Sirs: In my article entitled MacArthur Worries London, in *The Nation* of November 18, I said that an article in the *Times* of London implying partial American provocation for the Chinese intervention in Korea was "directly inspired by the Foreign Office." I have since been informed that my statement was incorrect and that the author of the article wrote it purely on the basis of his own researches and on his own authority.

HOWARD K. SMITH

London, November 20

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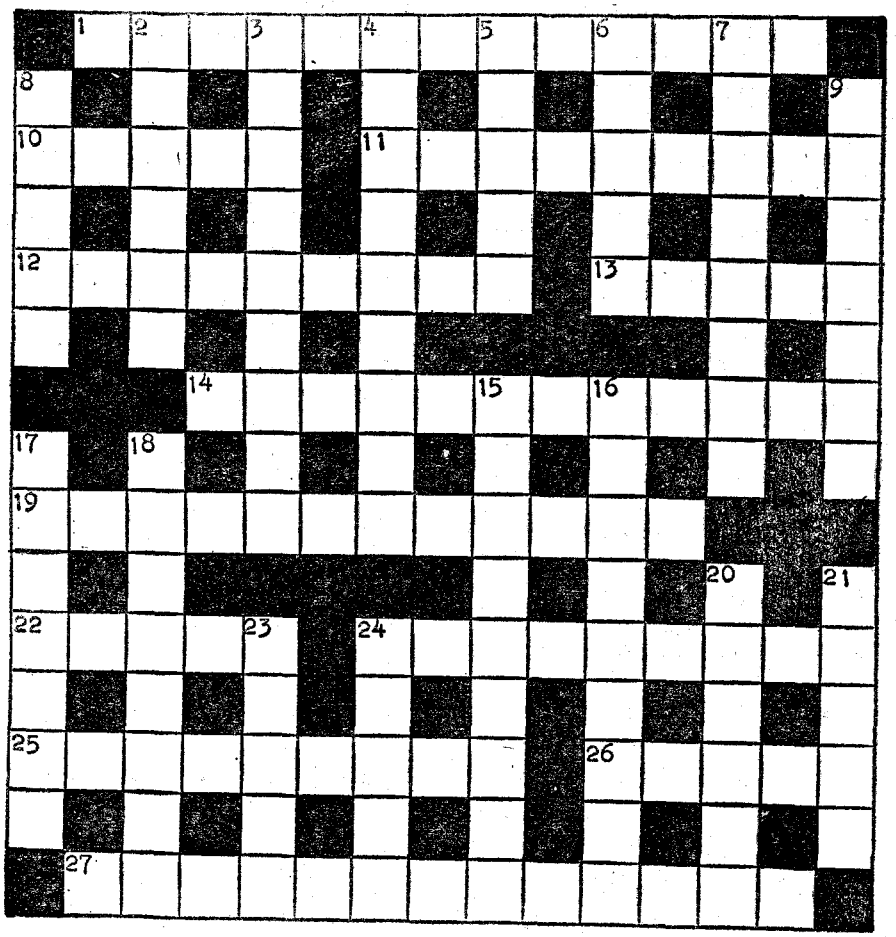
Crossword Puzzle No. 390

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 French German isn't right in the dance! (9, 4)
10 Common bravery might hurt if you touch it.
11 Sometimes indicated by carets.
12 See 24 across.
13 Cowboy who tilts at a Gallup?
14 Lupercalia, for example. (5, 7)
19 Low form of diamond robbery? (4, 8)
22 Pistol was qualmish at the smell of them; they belong to the 8 family.
24 and 12. Rubicon crossing? (9, 9)
25 This sort of painting is touch and go.
26 'Tis dishonor even if you contradict me!
27 North American planes. (8, 5)

DOWN

2 Grocery store?
3 Do they raise grain, or merely hold it?
4 To be a main dislike.
5 A synonym might seem to go down to study.
6 He never wins in a close race.
7 Highwaymen helpful to bunions?
8 See 22.
9 One of these is a bird, so rises and hunts for food.
15 Might suggest a harpy, but only worth five bucks! (4-5)
16 Clean rats in an English house.
17 It's nothing to be a sort of silk for the needle.
18 Sharpness.
20 Your life-lines show it.
21 Does needlework - - - - - some say 22 do in return.
23 This fish is the most disorderly type in the sea.
24 This Marx-man is smart, if nothing else!

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 389

ACROSS:—1 INFER; 4 SIDESWIPE; 9 CHEERLESS; 10 NASHE; 11 EXCELSIOR; 13 CLUBFOOTED; 17 UNILATERAL; 21 LOTTO; 22 INITIATOR; 23 TOOTS; 24 ENCHANTED; 25 PROSELYTE; 26 ENSUE.

DOWN:—1 INCHES; 2 and 12 FRENCH TOAST; 3 RARELY; 4 SPECIAL DELIVERY; 5 DESCRIBE A CIRCLE; 6 SANCTION; 7 INSTANTS; 8 EVENTIDE; 14 FULL STOP; 15 VIRTUOSO; 16 JALOUSIE; 18 PIRATE; 19 STATES; 20 BRIDGE.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

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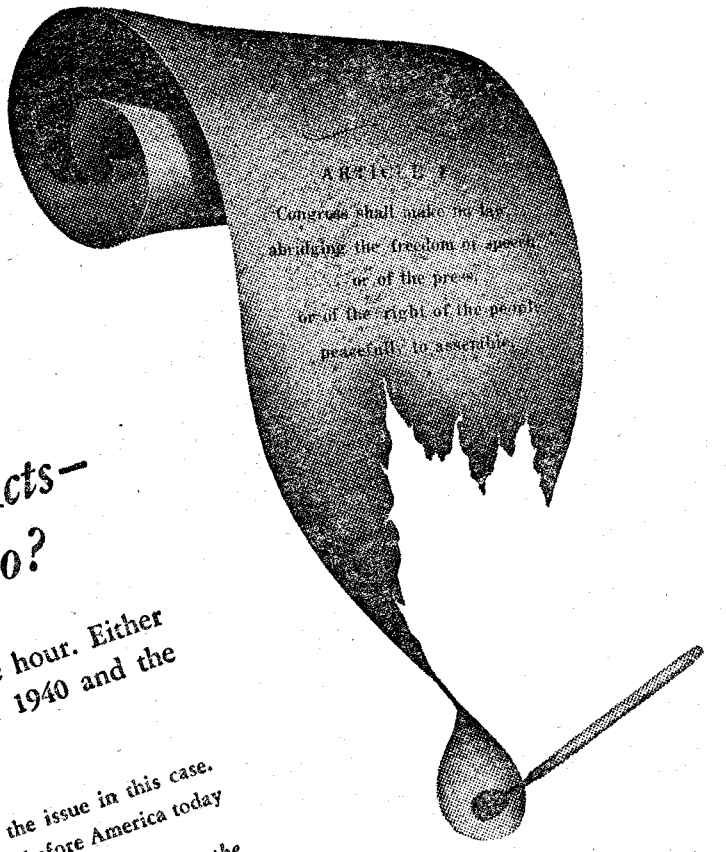
IS THE *Bill of Rights* GOING UP IN SMOKE?


ARTICLE I
Congress shall make no law
abridging the freedom of speech,
or of the press
or of the right of the people
peaceably to assemble

Can We Keep The Smith and McCarran Acts— And The Constitution Too?

Yes, fellow Americans, this is the question of the hour. Either we keep the Bill of Rights—*or* the Smith Act of 1940 and the McCarran Act of 1950. America can't do both.

The First Amendment of our Bill of Rights is clear as spring water. And the Founding Fathers intended it so. It says:

"Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or of the right of the people peacefully to assemble."

No law. No law abridging the basic freedoms. Clear enough, isn't it?

Yet the Congress did pass such laws—the Smith Act in 1940 and the McCarran Act in 1950. These laws clearly violate the First Amendment, and thousands of distinguished Americans of various political views have said so.

On Monday, December 4, the Supreme Court is scheduled to hear legal arguments on the constitutionality of the Smith Act. The issue arises in the case of the 11 Communist leaders convicted of forming a political party to "teach and advocate" Marxist doctrines.

Not any overt acts, mind you, just "teaching and advocating"—that is, exercising the rights of free speech, press and assembly guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

Now, you may or may not like the Communist position on world peace, on labor's struggles, on full equality for the Negro people, on its ideals of Socialism.

But that is *not* the issue in this case. The simple issue before America today is this:

Either the Bill of Rights protects the rights of ALL Americans, whether their political views be popular or not—OR we as a nation turn our back on the Constitution and go down the slippery road to the police state.

Let's make no mistake about this issue. If Communists can't "teach and advocate" their views, it's unsafe for *any* Americans to teach and advocate *any* views of social change. America will then have rejected not only Marx and Lenin but also Madison and Jefferson, Holmes and Brandeis.

That's why this fight against the Smith Act is not the fight of the Communists alone. It's the fight of every American, irrespective of politics, who supports the Bill of Rights.

See for yourself what leading publications and individuals have said about the Smith Act. Read their comments. Think them over. Then you too will want to help in this common fight to preserve the Bill of Rights.

ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN
Chairman,
Committee to Defend the Eleven

Miss Elizabeth Gurley Flynn
Chairman, Committee to Defend the Eleven
35 East 12 Street, New York 3, N. Y.

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SOME COMMENTS ON THE SMITH ACT:

New York Post Oct. 16, 1949 — "We think the Supreme Court will ultimately reject the Smith Act as unconstitutional. We believe it will affirm the validity of the historic Holmes doctrine that advocacy of ideas cannot be punished unless there is an imminent threat to the survival of the Republic."

St. Louis Post-Dispatch Oct. 18, 1949 — [The Smith Act] "amends the First Amendment without the formal process of amending the Constitution . . . Punish the Communists for their ideas and we open the way to punish others with less cause or no cause at all."

The Nation Oct. 29, 1949 — ". . . the actual sentences meted out to the eleven Communists will be of small importance in the light of larger implications . . . We can only hope that the judges of the higher courts are not easily frightened. The First Amendment hangs in the balance."

American Civil Liberties Union — "We take the position that the statute is unconstitutional on its face because it punishes mere advocacy . . . We maintain, therefore, that since this statute . . . does not make the distinction between advocacy and incitement it violates the First Amendment."

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